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THE  
Almirante of *CASTILE's*  
MANIFESTO.

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MANIFESTO.  
OF THE  
CASTLES



*R Enriquez de Cabrera*

THE

# Almirante of CASTILE's MANIFESTO.

CONTAINING,

- I. The Reasons of his Withdrawing himself out of *Spain*.
- II. The Intrigues and Management of the Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and *Don Manuel d' Arias*, about the Will of King *Charles the Second*, to Advance the Duke d' *Anjou* to the Possession of that Crown.
- III. The Government of Cardinal *Portocarrero*, &c. after the King's Death.
- IV. The Designs of *France* against *Spain*.
- V. The Manner of the Admirals making his Escape into *Portugal*.
- VI. And his Proceedings at *Lisbon*.

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Faithfully Translated from the Original Printed in *Spanish* at *Lisbon*, since the Arrival there of King *Charles III*.

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MANUAL  
OF THE  
MILITARY

The first of the two parts of the Manual is devoted to the description of the various arms and accoutrements of the British Army, and to the regulations which govern their use. The second part is devoted to the description of the various regiments of the British Army, and to the regulations which govern their organization and discipline.

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T H E  
Admiral of CASTILE  
H I S  
MANIFESTO, &c.

**W** H E R E A S it is well known to the World, that  
D. John Thomas Enriques de Cabrera, Great Ad-  
miral of Castile, and of Leon, Duke of the City  
of Medina de Rio Seco, Earl of Modica, &c. on the 17th  
of September, in the Year 1702. resolv'd to withdraw him-  
self into the Kingdom of Portugal, upon Pretence of go-  
ing into France, to reside as Embassador Extraordinary at  
that Court, as was appointed; and it being convenient  
that the Motives, which induced the Execution of pub-  
lick Actions, should also be made publick, so many of  
them shall be here set down with all possible Brevity, as  
may serve to prove this Resolution absolutely necessary  
and unavoidable, under those Circumstances of Honour  
it has pleas'd God the Admiral should be born; tho' many  
more be pass'd by in Silence, since it is but just that some  
be sacrific'd to Prudence and Moderation, and others are to  
be conceal'd till a more proper Season; and allowing that  
the Principal Human Duties incumbent on Men, are their  
Fidelity to their Prince, and the Love and Defence of their  
Country, and that the more elevated in Dignity Persons  
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are, the more these Principal Duties bind them, it will easily appear, to all those, who are not ignorant of the Admirals high Birth, and other Circumstances of his Person and Family, how pressing both those Duties were upon him.

But, in Regard that Want of Information might cause a Belief, that the Admiral put this Design in Execution upon private Motives of Discontent, grounded on the repeated Injuries offer'd to his Person; it will be requisite to convince the World, That no private Disgusts were of force to prevaile with the Admiral to undertake such an Action; so that of Necessity there must be Causes so much more weighty and universal, as publick Concerns are above private, and those of no less Rank than Loyalty to his natural Prince, and the Defence of his Country.

It is therefore to be observ'd, that as soon as the Duke of *Anjou* drew near the Court of *Spain*, he immediately began to signalize himself by depressing the Admiral, looking always with a jealous Eye on his Person and Family, at the Instigation and Procurement only of Cardinal *Portocarrero*, of *D. Frey Manuel Arias* Governour of the Council of *Castile*, and of other Creatures of them both, scarce worthy to be mention'd. In short, he was successively depriv'd of all the Honours and Places of Trust he stood possess'd of, as Great Master of the Horse, Lieutenant-General in the Kingdoms of *Toledo* and *Andaluzia*, General at Sea, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and of the Pay he enjoy'd. Besides on *Novemb. 12. 1701.* a Letter was writ to the Admiral by Order of the Ministry of *France*, and sent by a Person of Note and Authority, charging him with having sided with the *Austrian* Faction, and adding, That it was requisite Time, and his future Behaviour should wipe away this Suspicion, that the Government might confide in him: To which the Admiral answer'd, In *Jan. 1702.* willingly taking upon himself the Reason



Reason of this Mistrust, yet in such Words as that time would permit, and the more because it was absolutely necessary to cast a Mist before the Eyes of his Enemies, and to make Use of Artifice and Dissimulation with them, to enable him to put in Execution the Design he had in Hand; all the Expressions in that Letter manifesting how indecently the Admiral was handled, pursuant to the Diffidence they had of him.

So it is that violent Courses were taken against so many Friends, Dependents, Creatures, Servants, and all that any Way appear'd to be his Adherents, banishing some, displacing others, and persecuting and misusing them all, and yet not a Complaint dropt from the Admiral, nor a Word was heard from his Mouth, which even Malice itself could interpret to bear a Resentment. And the only thing that could surmount his Patience, was, the finding himself included among all the rest of the Grandes in the Decree, which constituted him Duke and Peer of *France*; an Action which debas'd the Dignity of the Grandes of *Spain*, as much as the most August House of *Austria* had endeavour'd to exalt it in *Europe*, and which was procur'd, voted, and supported only by Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and *D. Manuel Arias*. Yet this Disgust, as being common to all Men of the first Rank in the Kingdom, did not mortifie the Admiral more than others, it being equally prejudicial to all, and particularly to the Duke of *Anjou*, had he lookt upon that Monarchy as his own, which they have made him rule so much as if it were another's. Nor would it have mov'd the Admiral to see himself particularly distinguish'd under the Title of Ambassador in Ordinary to that Crown, tho' this Nomination of him be an Action remarkable among all those which have astonish'd the World, and lessen'd the *Spaniards*, thro' the Conduct of that Ministry which has guided all the false Steps that have been made in *Europe*. So that having



born with an equal Temper, the loss of all the Honours aforementioned, it would have been something more than difficult to bear with those which they conferr'd on him as Favours upon these two most disagreeable Occasions.

All this is undoubtedly so ; and yet the Admiral with Satisfaction confesses, that even These Acts of Violence and Envy would not have prevail'd with him to withdraw out of the Dominions of *Spain*, into a foreign Kingdom, and much less to Act as he has since done from time to time, did he look upon the Duke of *Anjou* as Rightful King of *Spain*, and had he not been a witness of the Slavery to which its Kingdoms are reduc'd.

Nor does it seem necessary to convince Malice or Ignorance as to the vulgar censure the most Heroick Actions are often subject to, through the Malignity of Adversaries, who endeavour to obliterate, or at least to sully them with some show of private Interest. In this case it is needless to be fore-arm'd against this point ; since the World is satisfi'd there are not many Subjects of any Prince equal to the Admiral, and very few that surpass him in Quality, Estate, Vassals, Revenues, and all sorts of Possessions ; and he who could abandon, and part with all in one Day, gave sufficient proof that he could aim at no Reward, there being none proportionable to what he forsook, but the Eternal Memory of the Action, and the Glory he acquir'd by so Honourable an undertaking. And granting that this Proceeding of the Admiral, was neither the effect of Discontent for the Indignities offer'd him by those in the Government, nor influenc'd by any Interest, but that most Noble one of his greater Honour, his Duty in adhering to his Fidelity to the most August House (of *Austria*,) and not giving a passive Consent to the enslaving of *Spain* ; it evidently follows, that when the Divine Providence offer'd him the opportunity of gaining  
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his Liberty under the pretence of the Embassy into *France*, the blindness of that Ministry directing, and showing him the way to follow that course, which they themselves had made easy to him, then the only Motive that induc'd the Admiral to ~~except~~ of that Embassy, was its enabling him to get out of *Spain*, and to put in Execution what he had before design'd. And this opportunity was not granted to any one of all those great Men in the Kingdom, who have since Labour'd under oppression, either as being depriv'd of the means to deliver themselves from Violence, or because they had not a thorough knowledg, and information of the Nullity of the last Will of King *Charles* the II. But the Admiral, ever since the Arrival of the Duke of *Anjou*, impatiently desir'd to discover some way that might lead him to a Place, where he might signalize his antient Duty and Fidelity to the most August House (of *Austria*), and his Love to his Illustrious Country; still concealing this design, till he could effect it, as has been seen; and all the while not only making use of such Artifices as were requisite for the compassing so great a Design; but also withstanding the many Snares continually lay'd for him by the Prejudice, Envy, and Fear, which Govern'd the Actions of those Ministers towards him.

It shall now be made appear by a few Overt Acts and those fully known, that the last Will of the late King *Charles* the II. was extorted as to the calling in of the Duke of *Anjou*. This Monarch had made two Wills in his perfect Senses, and full Liberty, and in both of them he legally and sincerely follow'd those of his Father, and Grandfathers. It does not appear that in the making of either of them, there was any opposition of the Ministry, nor any care taken to get Votes, nor any Wiles whatsoever, and it is evident that all the Ministers of State, whom his Majesty commanded to give their o-  
pinions.



pinions touching his Successor, did it with all possible freedom, not one among so many inclining to the Line of *France*, or scarce so much as thinking of it; and his Majesty declar'd his Resolution with the same maturity. Now let it be observ'd, whether the Opposition, the Wiles, the Factions that preceded the appointing the Duke of *Anjou* in the present Will, were matter of small Scandal; that by this Evidence it may appear, when the Will was made freely, and when extorted; the principal Actor in this Affair being Cardinal *Portocarrero*, with D. *Frey Manuel Arias*, who had nothing else to raise them to such Power in the Government, for the carrying on so great an Intrigue, but the Cardinal's laying hold of the opportunity Minister'd to him by that contemptible disturbance which happen'd in *Madrid*, on the 28th of *April* 1699. It is term'd a contemptible disturbance, because it was not so much as a Popular Commotion, none being concern'd in it that deserv'd to be called the Commonalty of *Madrid*; but only the Naked and Boyish Mob that strowles about the Streets and Markets, and is the Scum of the meanest People. It was contemptible for Number, as not amounting to 200 Persons of both Sexes; contemptible for their Age, and contemptible for being disarm'd, for there was not so much as a Sword, or any other Weapon of what sort soever, seen among those miserable Beggars during all the Time their Clamours were heard. Who will say this Day could bring so great a Dishonour upon the King's Majesty, the greatest Affront upon Justice, and no small Reflection upon the whole Body of the Nation? And yet on this Day, which so irregularly produc'd these consequences, Cardinal *Portocarrero*, with his few intimate Adherents, Founded his Exaltation to greater Affairs, making use of such unworthy and arbitrary methods, of so many Falsehoods and Frauds, which



which were the Basis and Foundation on which the Cardinal and his Party grounded all the Power they could wish, and which has had so unfortunate an Event; all Men of Sense being satisfy'd and openly Declaring, that, tho' that Disturbance had happen'd accidentally, yet it was improv'd by Art to carry on other Ends.

Among other Designs the Cardinal and his Followers brought to pass, one was the Removing of the Admiral from his Majesty's Presence; having that Hatred and Aversion for him, which is the natural effect of an unbounded Ambition against whomsoever it looks upon as an Obstacle to the compassing its ends. The Cardinal had conceiv'd this Aversion, and was rooted in it by his Confidants and Adherents against the Admiral, as well on account of the Honours he receiv'd from the Bounty of King Charles the II. of which the Cardinal was ever Envious; as by reason the Greatness of the Admiral might eclipse the Person of this Prelate.

All the Circumstances which make manifest this Ambition are here omitted, as is the Want of Faith, and other very irregularly proceedings of the Cardinal, because they are private Concerns, tho' they had a Connexion with the Publick, and Universal.

The Cardinal at that time further prevail'd with King Charles the II. to appoint D. Frey Manuel Arias, Governour of the Council of Castile, tho' he had been before remov'd from that Post by the said King Charles the II. as unfit for the employment. Having remov'd the Admiral from Court, he gain'd admittance to the Government, Power to dispose of Employments, an Ascendant over those that su'd for them, and an easie Ascent for himself to the universal Management which he attain'd, and by that means could settle such intelligences as he stood in need of, for compassing the end the World has seen. These

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are the Ways and Means by which the Cardinal rais'd himself to be an Actor in the Constraint put upon the Inclination of King *Charles* the II. in his last Will. To this purpose he promoted Negotiations at Court, and among the People, to gain Approbation to the Election of the Duke of *Anjou*. He boldly supported it in private Conversation, and in the Council and Assemblies, where he was present, as is well known. He remov'd all that were not prevail'd upon to Co-operate in that Affair, and he gain'd as many as he could of all Conditions, upon sundry Reasons given out by himself and his Party among all sorts of Persons even of the lowest Rank.

One was, That the Duke of *Harcourt* had a formidable Army at *Bayonne*.

Another, That in *Spain* there were no Troops to make a Defence.

The first was as false, as is well known to all the World; since every Body is satisfy'd, that the Troops commanded by the Duke *de Harcourt*, if sufficient for a Pretext, were yet by reason of their Number incapable of acting.

The Forces the late King, at that time had in *Spain*, were no less than 14000 Foot, and above 4000 Horse, of Veterane Troops, and well condition'd, which were to act till they could be rein-forc'd to stand upon the Defensive, and this in a Country well affected, Mountainous and full of Defiles, for the Invaders, and the Natives such as are valuable for their own Defence, on account of their Valour and Loyalty. Besides, what assurance was there that in case his most Christian Majesty desir'd to secure the Crown of *Spain*, for the Duke of *Anjou*, and us'd those Means he thought most convenient for the managing of this Affair, yet there should be no Difference betwixt this Political Essay, and the Resolution of conquering *Spain*? Nor could any inference be drawn from the one to conclude the other, there being so infinite a Disproportion be-



betwixt the two designs. Nor was there any Coherence between the so often practis'd method of causing some Troops to move to Countenance some Negotiation, and the Resolution to ingage in the Conquest of the Kingdoms of *Spain*. And supposing the most Christian King should resolve to commit Acts of Hostility, who could imagine there was no difference betwixt this, and making himself Master by force, of the *Spanish Monarchy*? It is well known what scarcity of Provisions there is in the Province of *Guipuzcoa*. What then could the invading Troops find, in *November*, in a Country, that has none at any time of the Year, but what they brought with Convoys? And could these Convoys come in safety, unless they secur'd the Communication with their Country? Must not they to this effect, lay siege to *Fuenterabia*, or to *Saint Sebastian*? Would not this enterprize gain time for us to oppose them, having already the Troops above-mention'd? And in case the success should not answer our expectation, were it not more reputable for the *Spanish Nation* to lose the Land together with our Lives, and to gain Honour with everlasting Fame? All these known Truths, the Cardinal reduc'd to only the Supposition, that they would conquer us, that we should be ruin'd, and that it was better to be Subjects by base Submission, than brought under by Conquest. A Maxim so dishonourable, as has since appear'd by its consequences. And whereas a Squadron of twelve Sail was fitted at *Cadiz* with 3000 Land-men aboard for the business of *Darien*; and it being known that the cause of sending this Fleet thither was, remov'd, his Majesty upon its being signify'd to him by the Count *de Harach*, the Imperial Ambassador at the Court of *Spain*, gave Orders that the Land Forces should be set a Shore to co-



ver that Frontier, and that things should be kept in a readiness to guard the Coast. But the Cardinal *Portocarrero* and the President *Arias*, (it is to be suppos'd on intelligence they held with *France*, and abusing the Royal Authority,) caus'd the said Squadron to Sail with such Expedition, that when the King's Orders came, it was gone, and this to no other Effect, but to remove this obstacle to the *French* Succession out of *Spain*.

Therefore a little above two Months, before his last relapse, upon the pressing Instances of the Council, he put out that Decree, in which he refus'd to declare his Successor at that time, the better to conceal from *France*, the Design, he was then wholly bent upon, of bringing over the Arch Duke his Nephew. And in fine, that tender-hearted King several times protested to the Imperial Embassador, that he would rather lose his Life, and run the Hazard of his Crown, than consent that the Duke of *Anjou*, or any other Prince of the House of *France*, should inherit it; because that Succession, was contrary to his natural Inclination, to the Liberty of the Monarchy, and to the publick Peace and Safety of *Europe*.

These points plainly evince the Fallacy and the Design of giving out that Trade would flourish in *Spain*, supported by the Friendship of *France*; that the Kingdom would enjoy an everlasting Peace, the different interests of the two Crowns being remov'd; that the charge of War ceasing, it was visible how the Exchequer would be enrich'd, and consequently how much the People might be eas'd of their heavy Taxes; that the Assistance of *France* would secure us against any War that might in process of time break out; and that  
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any such was naturally remote by reason of the Situation of the Kingdoms of *Spain* and *France*, a settled Peace being like to be ever preserv'd between them two; that Manufactures, of which there is such a Want in *Spain*, would increase by means of the great number of *French* handicraft Men, wherein that Country abounds, and through their Skill and Industry a great improvement would follow; that consequently our Trade in the *West-indies* would advance, most of the Loading of the Fleets being become our own; with many more such Notions, all of the same Stamp, which shew, what being they had in Nature, when they were magnify'd to carry on the Design they serv'd for, by what they have produc'd since that time. And it is no wonder, that these dicourses should make an Impression on some People, being spread abroad with all the Artifice of Malice, which is most apt to Work, it's pernicious Effects on well meaning Souls, and among such a Number as must be in so great a Kingdom, of Persons unacquainted with Politicks and Affairs of State, and who with plain Honesty, only aim at the good of their Country, this was look'd upon as a sufficient Ground, for the Cardinal and his Adherents to call that a general Approbation, which was only an Imposition on such Persons, as could not in the least be blam'd for their Want of better Information; because it is not the Duty of every Man to dive into Affairs of that Weight, and it is natural not to believe that those Persons in whom Zeal for their Country and the Love of their Prince ought to reside, should be possess'd with Disloyalty and Disaffection to their Prince and Country.

This was the posture of Affairs when the King (who is in Heaven) fell Sick, and during his indisposition,



sition, all that has been mention'd was advanc'd and set forward, till it came to the utmost pitch of Disrespect to Majesty, and of Ingratitude to so many favours receiv'd from it ; for they were so continual, so frequent, and so Incessant in their Suggetions to him to name the Duke of *Anjou* in his Will, that at the same time they Conspir'd against the Rights of the most August House (of *Austria*) ; they practis'd against the Life of the Dying Monarch, hastning his Death by their pressing Instances more than the Distemper did, by its Convulsions. They represented to the King that the Kingdoms of *Spain* desir'd this Nomination ; but those Kingdoms can Witness that this was a false Supposition. They added that the People of *Madrid* would come to the Pallace-Yard to clamour for this Election. If the Cardinal meant the People of *Madrid* by the Market Boys that made the Noise and Uproar on the 28th of *April* 1699, he was in the Right ; For this part of Wretched People, as despicable as has been declar'd, was what the *Corregidor Ronquillo* had at his disposal ; but that this can be really suppos'd to be the People of *Madrid* is as false, as all the rest those regardless Ministers represented. They also told him, that the Treaty of Partition would be put in Execution, if his Majesty did not appoint the Duke of *Anjou* to succeed him. And the good King, that he might not be the cause of Dismembring his Kingdoms, seems to have shown more Affection for his Subjects, than what he naturally had for his most August House ; giving way to this Shadow of a Reason, which the Cardinal represented. And it is not strange, that the Princes reason and understanding, which heard of that Treaty with so much concern, and was so sensibly touch'd at, and averse to it should,



should be so entirely overwhelm'd in the intellectual Part, by the Violence of the Distemper, as is usual to all Mankind ; for being so near his End, the Faculties were lost in the Malady, and most of the Senses but of little Use. To this condition the repeated and pressing Instances of the Cardinal had now reduc'd the late King, and it was but then they could obtain a consent, which was given by the Dead Body of the King, that had so much oppos'd it whilst Living. Yet this was so far extorted, that he declar'd to the most Reverend *F. F. Nicholas de Torres*, his Confessor, what violence had been offer'd him, and that he had sign'd a Will, by which he called the Duke of *Anjou* to the Succession, as much against his Will, as it was contrary to his natural Affection and Duty. That he made this Declaration to him ; to the intent that if he dy'd whilst that Will stood Good, he might make it known at such Time, and in such manner as to him should seem just and convenient ; declaring at the same Time, that the weakness he was reduc'd to as a dying Man, had not afforded him Strength sufficient longer to withstand those repeated Suggetions, which did not only deprive his most August Line of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, but at the same time shorten'd his Life. But if it should please God to prolong it, he hop'd to undo what was done, and even to make suitable returns for what Experience shew'd had been practis'd upon him. This matter of Fact that discreet Religious Man, and disinterested Person several times repeated to the Admiral, without varying in any material Part of it, and to this Evidence may be added that the Admiral himself for many Years last past discoursing with the Late King upon this Subject, never could discover in him the least Token but what

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was of so great an Aversion to the Succession in the Line of *France*, that even in that Latitude which State Affairs allow of discoursing on all sorts of Notions, none could ever be propos'd to him but what at the remotest distance shock'd the mind of that Prince; and this the more upon the Supposition, that, as it was to his Majesty, so it would be no less ungrateful to his Subjects, to be under any Prince of the Line of the House of *France*, because of the natural disagreement there is between *French* and *Spaniards* on account of their different interests.

The Admiral is apt to believe, that what the most Reverend *F. F. Nicholas de Torres* told him, His Majesty had declar'd to him, he might also have communicated to others, that they might be sufficient Witnesses when time should serve: If so, it will be known when free from the Oppression they are now under, they may be permitted to speak to this matter with the same Liberty, as the Admiral does at this time.

It is thought fit to pass by many very considerable Circumstances relating to the chimerical and cavillous Proceedings of that time, for carrying on the Design of excluding the most August House of *Austria* from the Crown of *Spain*; to avoid swelling this Paper to a vast Bulk, and because there are more than enough to vindicate it; and tho' this Relation of those Passages be abridg'd of many Particulars that attended it, for the present, it is not convenient to express them for other Reasons, which will be remov'd in a short time (as may be well suppos'd by this present,) and it shall be added, That the Imperial Ambassador perceiving this irregular Management, to the Prejudice of the Rights of the most



most August House of *Austria*, and to the Ruine and utter Subversion of all the *Spanish* Monarchy; he prudently press'd for an Audience, tho' short, and at any time that might be least troublesome to His Majesty; which was refus'd him, upon Pretence that His Majesty's Health would not permit. If it was a lawful Excuse not to incommode the sick King, but for a short time upon so urgent an Occasion; What Sort of Crime was it then continually to take up that short Space he had to live, oppressing his Spirits with those Suggestions, which were most offensive to him, and which impair'd the little Vigour his Distemper had left him? That the King might not hear what he desir'd and was proper for him, they suppos'd him desperately sick; and to take away his Crown, they press'd so hard upon him, and gave him such continual Disquiet, as would have been prejudicial to the soundest Health; tho' then practis'd, it seems now incredible how that Royal Bed could be fenc'd against the Approach of all Intimations that might be for the Good of the Country and the Cause of Justice.

The King express'd a Desire, that the Admiral might return to Court, whilst His Majesty was yet living. How the Cardinal oppos'd it, and by what Arbitrary Methods, is well known to all that were present, and a sufficient Proof to all Men of the Falshood they were conscious that attended the Business they were carrying on: For had it been true, that all the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Spain* were fond of the Election the Cardinal propos'd; and that all the Nobility and Commonalty of the Cities, and of *Madrid* were of the same Mind, what could it signifie, that the Admiral should not approve of it? His Inclination alone being able to contribute



contribute little to the Service of the most August House of *Austria*. But the Cardinal it is likely did not think the Admiral's Opinion was so weakly back'd as he gave out; since he made such Efforts to oppose it.

Now if this Will be not said to be extorted contrary to the Inclination of the Testator where can there be one found in the World? If this be not an undeniable Force in the Eyes of Reason and Justice, where can it be suppos'd to be found? Should it appear that such Irregularity had been us'd in the House of a private Man, who lay at the last Gasp, and that besetting his Bed with Wiles, Terrors, Threats, and Frauds, they oblig'd him to disinherit his own Blood, and leave all he had to the greatest Stranger, would not this be punish'd as a horrible Crime? Would not they who had been concern'd in extorting that Will, be punish'd as Persons exercising a Tyranny over the free Will of Man? And the more, if the Testator's Declaration were added, protesting that he had been forc'd to appoint that Heir, contrary to his natural Affection, to his Opinion, to his Desire, and the Good of his Estate? And is not this punctually the same Cardinal *Portocarrero* practis'd with the late King *Charles II.* as to the Clauses of that Nomination? Is it not known to all the World, that these Vexations they gave him, heighthned the Distemper that took away his Life? Adding to this another Extortion; which was, that whilst his Sickness lasted, he should commit the whole Charge of the Government, and the Dispatch of publick Affairs to the Cardinal *Portocarrero*; an Action, which at once evinc'd the Cardinal's unbounded Ambition, and the disrespectful Boldness wherewith he oblig'd the King to dignifie his Person with that Grant, which the dying Monarch had so long oppos'd.

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It was sufficiently made known to all the *Spanish* Ministry, how much His Majesty had express'd his just and natural Desire of bringing the most Serene *Charles* to succeed him ; and it is no less manifest how much that Ministry endeavour'd to promote, and forward this Design ; for it is not easily to be conceal'd, either what Orders the Duke of *Parisi* had given him, when he went Ambassador into *Germany* ; nor what was acting to the same End in other Courts with all possible Application : By which it plainly appears what Force the Cardinal us'd to dissuade the King, and as many more as he could from His Majesty's just Designs, making use to this Effect of those chimerical Motives above mention'd.

And in truth had King *Charles II.* ever desir'd that the Royal Line of *France* should succeed him, it had been very easie for him to have held private intelligence with *France* to this purpose, if it were but only by this means to obstruct the Execution of the Treaty of Partition. And would he not at least have some way insinuated, that the Nomination should be consented to, if *France* would make Application for it ? Only some endeavours were us'd in the most reserv'd Manner to sound the most Christian King's Intentions, touching this Affair, with much artful industry ; sometimes to hold him in Hand, and thus amuse him with hopes, and to oppose one Stratagem against another ; and sometimes to confirm by his answer the jealousy, or the Assurance there was, that he levell'd his designs to the Incorporating of the Dominions of *Spain*, or of the greatest part of them in the Crown of *France*. How then can prudence suppose, that King *Charles II.* should

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in one Day be led by the Eloquence of Cardinal *Portocarrero*, to alter his Opinion freely in an Affair of such Moment, and go over from one extream to another? Does it not plainly follow, that the sudden change was wrought by compulsive Means, contrary to all the solicitous Endeavours of the late King's Inclination?

The Cardinal, as has been said, represented to the King the *Fantome* of the Treaty of Partition, at such time as he was so weak, and spent, that he had not Vigour enough left, to make due Reflection on the Testimonies the Parliament of *England* had given, of their Disapproving that Treaty. Nor were there wanting Proofs, in the secret Cabinets of some Princes, that King *William* himself intended that Agreement should come to nothing, since there was no Sovereign, that question'd but it would prove the Ruin of them all. This was verifi'd, together with another greater Design, to which all the Aims of *France*, were levell'd, as has been suspected, when a Treaty so Advantagious to that Crown, as was that of the Partition, was lay'd aside, and all the mighty Benefits, that might by it accrue to *France* were abandon'd, only, to place the Duke of *Anjou*, on the Throne of *Spain*. Who will believe, that either the natural Love to a Grandson, or the Satisfaction of seeing a second Line of his Royal House, in the *Monarchy* of *Spain*, or the Enmity of the House of *Austria*, (which might perhaps push on the Design of excluding it from the Dominion of *Spain*) could have been of Force to prevail upon the wise Conduct of the *French* Ministry, to *postpone*, and sacrifice all the Advantages of the Kingdom, the Consideration of how much inferiour the other *Potentates* of *Europe* would be to *France*, and in fine all that Crown, could



could wish at present, and in time to come, to compass the utmost of its true Interest? No Man can be persuaded that so undoubted an Advantage, and so Indisputable in time to come, as being granted by all in the Present, could be voluntarily abandon'd, and rejected by *France*, only for the Satisfaction of giving to *Spain* (leaving it free) a Monarch of its Royal Family. Now this matter of Fact being so notorious, the consequence of it is no less so, being the great Addition it would be to *France*, to make all the Kingdoms and Provinces of *Spain*, Provinces of its own; and this Prospect rendred the Resolution of laying aside the Treaty of Partition rational and wise, accepting of the Inheritance, as was put in Execution, and we have since practically Experienc'd the Truth of this Notion. What the consequences of the *Antecedent*, that is of *Spain's* being Subject to *France*, apprehended by all Politicians, would be, does not belong to this Paper, for it belongs only to Sovereigns, to deduce such as are Opposite to their Interest, in order to endeavour to prevent them. What belongs to this place is only to make it appear, that the Design was to enslave *Spain*, that it was inflay'd; *France* for the compassing of this end quitting those solid Advantages it had in the Treaty of Partition, had she stood by it. And had not that been acted in *Spain* that was done in the Election of the Duke of *Anjou*, it would have appear'd, that the Opposition made by the Crown of *England*, had been a powerful, and sufficient Motive for the dissolving the Treaty, and continuing the Monarchy of *Spain* in the most *August* Line of *Austria*, in the same manner as *Charles II.* held it; for it being unavoidable to ingage in a War, that would gain time for all *Potentates* to consider of their true Interests, which did not consist either with the Treaty of Partition, or



with *France's* conquering *Spain*. In short, the Falsehood attending so many blind Resolutions, is the cause of all the Calamities *Europe* now groans under, of which it will with much Difficulty, recover it self in a very long time; for such an universal War, the like whereof was never seen, causes no less losses, and those already sustain'd are not soon to be retriev'd.

No notice is here taken of the Incongruities contain'd in the Will, besides the greatest which was the excluding of the most *August* Line; because those have been already taken notice of in most parts of the World; but, it appears how they who fram'd it contriv'd, that a Prince who honour'd the Memory of his Father and Grandfather, should not regard, or trample on it, as well as all his natural Affection to his House.

The Will was open'd, the Door of the Royal Apartment being shut, to convince all People how jealous the Actors were of their Crime, since they took such unwonted precaution, lest the manifest abuses interwoven in it, and which it consisted of, might be observ'd in Publick. To the rest was added that disrespectful Clause of desiring his *Imperial Majesty* to joyn in the same Fact, which was an infringement of his Right, by giving one of the Arch-Duchesses in Marriage to the Duke of *Anjou*. So that in order to depoil the House of *Austria* unjustly and forcibly of the Kingdom of *Spain*, the *Emperor* is apply'd to, to co-operate in his own Ruin, authorising by an Action of his own in the Treaty of Marriage the greatest wrong against his just Title that could be thought on. Was *King Charles the Second's* Reason, or his affection to his *Imperial*



*Imperial* House capable of this madness? Could this Action be the off-spring of his Free Will, when the substance of it is such as is here mention'd, and it sounds like Satyr, or Contempt?

These Reflections lay open the Malice and Violence of the Proceedings in this Case. But what would it be, if from this nullity in the Fact, the Pen should turn to those in point of Right and Reason; even, tho' this nomination had been made with the entire assent of the late King; since it still was contrary to the exclusion establish'd by a Fundamental law of the Kingdom, and to the prejudice of a third Person, who by virtue of Renunciations and Antecedent Titles, had already acquir'd a Legal Right. But this point rather belongs to the Law, and has so many Learned Men to support it, that the Admiral will pass it by as remote from his undertaking, and forreign from his Design; being fully perswaded that the Right of the most August House is indisputable, and could not be wav'd without its consent, especially having given no cause for it; since the late King had no more power to prefer the Lines Legally excluded in prejudice of those that are call'd, than a King of *France* has to call a Daughter of his to the Inheritance of the Crown, contrary to the Salique Law, in prejudice of the immediate Prince of the Blood. And if the Renunciations, and mutual contracts Confirm'd by Sacred Oaths, establish'd by a fundamental Law of the Kingdoms, and the consent of the Estates, and People, excluding the second Sons as much as the First Begotten, sworn and confirm'd at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, can be look'd upon as invalid, and be trampled on upon sundry Prettexts; it will be proper to root out of Nature all



all humant Society, to destroy Publick Faith, and to violate the Law of Nations without any Punishment; no Prince or Subject for the future being able to secure himself by contracts Legally Stipulated, tho' they be approv'd by the Assembly of State and of the Kingdoms. Else how can the Renunciation of the *Dauphin*, in favour of his younger Son, and of the Duke of *Burgundy*, in behalf of his Brother, be suppos'd to be valid; so that in process of Time they may not reassume their Right, and unite both Crowns in one? And if the unjust decree newly pass'd be consider'd, which contrary to the Express Will of the Testator calls the Duke of *Orleans* to the Succession, excluding the Arch-Duke *Charles*, this surmise will be sufficiently grounded, since the Will of the late King *Charles* the II, by virtue of which the Duke of *Anjou* has come to possess himself of the Crown, is already annull'd as to this point. Whence may be gather'd, that, the exclusion of the Line of *France* from the Succession to the *Spanish Monarchy* being both in *Castile* and *Arragon* a fundamental Law of the Kingdoms, when the Duke of *Anjou* took the Oath to maintain the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdoms he came to possess, inviolable, he swore against himself, and against what he was doing, because among the rest of the Laws he positively oblig'd himself to observe that which excluded him, and to assist himself in the observation of that exclusion. Whence it also follows as a necessary consequence, that those Kingdoms are now without a Lawfull Prince, and the Prince Governing those he cannot look upon as lawfull Subjects, they being reciprocally free from the obligation of the Oath of Fidelity to the Duke of *Anjou*.

And



And the Form of Government, introduc'd in that Ministry proves it more evidently by Fact, than words can express it; altho' this truth be consider'd without regarding the want of Title in the Duke of *Anjou*, the trampling on the *Emperor's* Right, the nullity of the Will; supposing nothing of all this were so, but that King *Charles* the II. had really Power to appoint, and did nominate a Prince of the House of *France*, and that the Laws, nor the Subjects were not against it; yet did ever any in the World swear to their natural Prince, that they would consent to be deliver'd up, and alienated to any Foreign Prince he should please or resolve? It does not appear, that there was ever yet an Oath of such Extent, as to include an Obligation of condescending, that so great a Monarchy, compos'd of so many Kingdoms, should be reduc'd to be a Province to a strange Monarch; and that all should design to oblige themselves to this, is so impossible in all natural Reason, and the Law of Nations, that no Body will believe any *Spaniard* could conceive any such thing, even in the most extravagant Flight of Imagination. — And that no Hole be left to creep out at, it will be proper to grant, that among so many as swore, and who very well knew the Illegality of that Act, there might be some, who had sincerely suffer'd themselves to be perswaded, or impos'd upon by those imaginary Reasons the Actors of that Crime alledg'd for the Nomination of the Duke of *Anjou*. Could he who was most impos'd upon, and most fully perswaded, swear any more in *Foro interiore*, than to be faithful to the Duke of *Anjou* in the same manner as is sworn to all other Princes?

Then



Then who can pretend that even he who took the Oath thus deceiv'd, shall lie under the Obligation of consenting; not only to be a Subject to a Foreign Prince; but to be a Subject in so mean a Capacity as the *Spaniards* would be, should they continue under the Misfortune of being united to the Crown of *France*? If this could enter into the Thoughts of Man, in what manner must that infinite Number take the Oath, some of them fully inform'd of the Nullities and Frauds throughout the whole Proceeding in this Affair, and that it tended to those Ends which afterwards appear'd; and others, being also almost an infinite Number, who tho' not so fully satisfy'd of this Truth, yet were under great Jealousies, that the Management of King *Charles II's* Will had not been legal, and that there might be political Designs contrary to the Liberty of the Country? By which it appears, that some took the Oath because impos'd upon, others that might be doubtful, and others fully satisfy'd of all; and now all of them no way bound by the Oath; because the Form of Government settled has freed them from it, fully absolving them from it by the Practices then and now carry'd on to enslave them. For what greater Slavery could have been found out for the *Spaniards*, than the linking of them in the Chain of Subjects to a foreign Nation, for whom they have all ever had and preserv'd an innate Aversion, and Dislike, which ever did, does, and will continue more firmly rooted between the two Nations for this Event? All submitted to Force; for as things then stood, it had not only been a Presumption, and the most extravagant Rashness, but even a Madness to offer at the least Resistance; since it would at that time have had no other Effect but the exposing them to suffer the utmost Violence of Revenge, and have obstructed the good Measures which are now taken, and seconded by Divine Providence, as the Justice of the Cause deserves.

Can



Can any Man be ignorant that it is a mutual contract which is made in the solemn act of the Subject's Swearing Allegiance to their Prince, and the Prince's Swearing to keep the Laws, the Privileges and Immunities of the Subjects, and to defend and maintain them in Justice? Or that it is a Circumstance always practis'd, that the King Swear first; and then in confidence of what the Prince has Sworn, it follows, that the Subjects take the Oath of Fidelity? If so, let it now be consider'd, how what the Duke Swore was observ'd, and it will appear whether by any Action of his he has absolv'd them from the Oath they all took to him: Since his Highness did not only fail in the Reciprocal part of the Contract, but transgress'd in the end propos'd, which was to inflave the *Spanish* Nation, and bring it under the servitude of *France*. And if the breach of the Contract were sufficient to put the *Spaniards* into perfect Liberty, and they, as such oblig'd to the Liberty of their own Defence: Let it be consider'd how much more than sufficient Reason they have so to do, if the Arbitrariness of these methods tended to those ends, as have been made known by the practice.

It was this which oblig'd the Admiral not to consent, even passively to bear a Yoke, which fancy it self could scarce imagine, and yet was now evidently laid on the Nation. Soon after the Duke of *Anjou's* arrival at *Madrid*, the design of Uniting the Crown of *Spain* to that of *France* began to appear, by the Declaration set forth by the latter, enroll'd in the Parliament of *Paris*; containing, that in case the Duke of *Burgundy* should dye without Issue, the Duke of *Anjou* should Inherit the Crown of *France*, Uniting it to that of *Spain*; whence, inevitably follow'd the end that was fear'd, and which was endeavour'd to be sweeten'd, with the Notion, that thus the Inheritance would be Reciprocal (this Act alone  
E being



being sufficient, considering under what Circumstances *France* is at present) whereas it was visible to all men, that there was no body in *Spain* on whom the Succession of those Kingdoms could be settled, but only the Duke of *Anjou*; and in *France* it was morally certain they could not want an Heir; which shews what may be concluded of the Scope of this Declaration.

This Act was follow'd by so many, that it being impossible to mention them all, some shall suffice to make out, that *Spain* had not a Prince of its own, but was under an entire subordination to *France*, and endur'd a Bondage never imagin'd from one Nation to another, quite a stranger and always averse to it, as were the *French* and *Spanish*, which is now altogether govern'd by the other, and rul'd without any restriction in all points. The Advice given to the Duke of *Anjou* to discharge upon the very day of his Arrival at *Madrid*, all the Family the late King *Charles* the Second left, as Servants of all sorts, degrees, and capacities, is a sufficient proof of the disaffection shewn to the whole Nation. And tho' this displacing, in as much as it comprehended so many men of the first Rank in the Kingdom, was a positive contempt of all the prime Nobility, or at least a Declaration that no account was had of their Quality and Persons; yet, this alone had been less shocking and more tolerable, because the figure those Persons made, who were depriv'd of their Employments of Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles* the Second (whom God receive into his Glory) was so considerable, that the memory of having deserv'd this Honour from *Charles* the Second, was sufficient to cause in them a ready compliance with this Order. But that so great a number of people of inferiour rank and employments, who had serv'd many Years, and some of them the Sons, and Grandsons of Servants of that Royal Family, should in one day be

turn'd



turn'd out of Doors, and depriv'd of those perquisites which were their support, and at the same time of all the hopes they had conceiv'd of what their continual Services might deserve from the Goodness of those Kings, was an action which alone, as being unprecedented, as discovering very little regard to the memory of the Prince, from whom the Inheritance descended, and as shewing how small the esteem was of the Nation to whom it was offer'd, demonstrated not only a great oversight in those that advis'd it; but that it was not possible any natural Prince could have put it in Execution; and this, notwithstanding there was an express Clause, even in the Will they made, by which the late King recommended his Family to the Duke of *Anjou*, and desir'd it might all be continu'd in his Service. And it is worth observing, that this discharging of the *Spaniards* would not well be look'd upon as an ease to the Royal Treasury, forasmuch as *French-men* were put into many of those Employments, without any other advantage but the changing the Nation, and at the same time burdening the Revenue; for the Pensions assign'd the *French*, exceeded the Expence of the Wages taken from the *Spaniards*. And it is worth observing, that those very Men who were asham'd not to insert this Clause in the Will, or were afraid to leave it out, should afterwards dare to advise his Highness to do that which they durst not omit. And it is farther remarkable, that the Duke of *Anjou* should consent to it, as also the *French* Ministers, without making the least reflection on any thing that deserv'd it in that action, there being no other ground for it, but its being an indecent piece of Revenge of the Cardinal and his Adherents, upon all those he hated, and the leaving the Palace entirely at the disposal of the *French*, to their management, that the Duke of *Anjou* might not grow familiar with the *Spaniards*, and chiefly



those of the Prime Nobility, that he might not lose that aversion to the Nation which was desir'd to be, and has been kept up in him, to the end it might not be any way difficult to them, to render *Spain* subordinate to *France*. No other can be suppos'd to have been the end of an action, which, as was said, is not only unpresidented among Monarchs, but even among great Men, or any other rank in the Kingdom

The next step was reforming the Councils, in which, as consisting of too many Ministers, which render'd the dispatch of business tedious, or on account of saving expence of the Revenue, or as being a thing for which there were so many Precedents, there scarce seem'd to be room left for any reflection, as if design'd for other purposes; and yet it was perform'd after such a manner, and with such concomitant Circumstances, as shew'd not only the want of Justice in the Execution of it, and the hatred from whence it proceeded, but that all was done upon other motives than a governing frugality. But why should these proceedings be look'd upon as strange, when before the coming of the Duke of *Anjou*, orders were given by direction of Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and *D' Frey Manuel Arias*, in the name of the Junta of Government, or Lords Commissioners then in *Spain* (to which they left no more power then, is well known, these two Ministers having assum'd it all to themselves) that all general Officers, and particular and general Governours of the Towns and Countries of *Milan* and *Naples*, should obey such as his most Christian Majesty should please to send them, without acquainting *Spain*, to prevent retarding the Execution; expressing that they were to be obey'd in the same form and manner, as if they had been from the Duke of *Anjou*? This is so strange and wonderful, that the profoundest ignorance, or the greatest malice could not be imagin'd guilty of such an over-



oversight; since then in the beginning, when to blindfold all Men, it was signify'd that the Crowns were distinct, and that there was only an Union of interests and kindred, then the most positive act of making the Kingdoms of *Spain* subordinate to the Government of *France*, was perform'd. Who ever heard that the most ancient Alliances, and the best secur'd by Reciprocal interests, that ever have been stipulated betwixt Princes in the World, went so far as to order that the Subjects of one Crown should obey a strange Prince, as if he were their natural Lord? No alienation, tho' it had been of one of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, could have been so scandalous, as the disposing of them all in one word, and voluntarily submitting them to a strange King. But it is still more remarkable, that after this resolution the Ministry of *Spain* should think to carry on its deceitful persuasions to impose upon the *Spaniards*, pretending this was only an act of Friendship.

The Cabinet Council of three was appointed to dispatch business with the Duke of *Anjou*, and were Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and *D' Frey Manuel Arias*, these two for Ministers of State, as Men knowing in the Art of Government. Those who are not acquainted with their ability, and their natural and acquir'd parts to make them Men for the publick, may by looking back upon their profession perceive, whether this choice could be grounded on that which ought to be the scope of all the actions of those in Command, which is the universal good of the Subjects, or whether it was the consequence of former designs. The third was the Duke of *Harcourt* the *French* Embassador. If the two Monarchies were already moulded into one, no objection could be made against this Minister; but if *France* had an Embassador, and he was, as suppos'd, the Minister of a Foreign Prince, it is worth observing, whether he who has this Character



rafter from another Monarch, is to command, to manage and to dispatch all the publick concerns and private intrigues of the Court where he resides. This has not been practis'd in any other Court in *Europe*, tho' there were never such strict ties between the Princes, as may be seen by the proceeding of the four Kings, *Philip* the second, third, and fourth, and King *Charles* the second, notwithstanding their great Affection to their most August Family, and that no act betwixt them could give the least ground of jealousy in *Europe*. And whereas the Ministers of *Germany* and *Spain* are Reciprocally treated at the two Courts with the greatest intimacy, and that in neither of them the Minister of the other need be look'd upon as a stranger; notwithstanding all this, they have ever continu'd in them both according to the common Rule and Form, which has never obstructed the most strict and sincere correspondence between them. But the Government of *Spain* would not allow of this, but would have the publick consent be a positive act of its subordination, and the openness of the proceedings a testimony, that only the Ministry of *France* should be look'd upon as Despotick in *Spain*.

It was no less unaccountable a resolution to draw out the Troops that were in Garrison in the Towns in *Flanders*, pursuant to the Treaties of Peace and Alliance between the Crown of *Spain* and *States General*. No notice shall be taken of the manner of doing it; but it belongs to this place to mention how punctually the Orders given to the Governour of *Flanders*, to obey the Commands of his most Christian Majesty, were observ'd; since that was perform'd without the Knowledge of the *Spanish* Council of State, which ought to have been inform'd of this great Resolution, and yet that Council and all the Kingdom receiv'd the advice at the same time with all the other Sovereigns of *Europe*. Perhaps it was  
never



never before known, that one Sovereign should take away another Sovereign's Allies, and the Troops that are maintain'd by Virtue of his Treaties, or that he should make him infringe the Articles of Peace, without his knowing that all this is perform'd by the direction of another, and the full consent of his Generals and Governours. If this Resolution was before privately communicated to the Duke of *Anjou*, and by his Highness to the Cabinet Council at *Madrid*, it is strange that so great a design should not be imparted to the Council of State, and it is a strong Argument that no Ear would be given to any representations that might tend to the maintaining of any Sovereignty in *Spain*, in order to support what good policy might offer in the Votes, which compos'd that Assembly. And what way soever it be taken, either the utmost act of Sovereignty over *Spain*, was perform'd without the Knowledge of the Duke of *Anjou*; or his Highness and his Cabinet Council shew'd the greatest distrust of the *Spanish* Ministry, since the consent was given subreptitiously and fraudulently in regard of the Council of State.

It might also be noted, That the Furniture, which either for being singular, or for its value was considerable among all that belong'd to the Service or Ornament of the Royal Family, or Palace of *Spain*, should be made over to the possession of *France*, as the publick News intimates and is suppos'd, which made it appear, that whatsoever in all sorts made up the very being of this Crown, was daily pluck'd away for the other.

When the Emperor for the benefit of the publick Cause, and in defence of his indisputable Right, resolv'd to send his Troops into *Italy*, those of *France* enter'd the State of *Milan*. This action could not have been call'd an infringement of the Sovereignty of the Crown of *Spain*, or a lording



lording of Foreign Troops over the State of *Milan*, but an Auxiliary Succour of a Confederate Prince, highly to be valued, had it been perform'd in the same manner as all Sovereign Princes in the World succour their Allies, and as has been anciently and lately done by Auxiliary Armies of the Emperors in that same State, and in *Flanders*. But the way it has been done by *France* is so different, so unusual, and so arbitrary, that observing what sort of succours they have been, it will appear, that unless *Spain* return thanks for having its Dominions alienated by the Auxiliary Prince, they had no cause to be thankful for his assistance.

Nor is it less known how long the Crown of *Spain* has contended for precedence with that of *France*, or what has pass'd in several Courts between the Ministers of both Crowns on account of this Controversie; and that the same has happen'd between the Maritime Forces of both Kings; and it is also known that at present, by order of his most Christian Majesty, the *Spanish* Flags have submitted, and this point has been yielded, which would have been so impracticable, had not the Sovereignty over the Crown been first obtain'd.

It seems not necessary to relate Facts with the preciseness of naming remarkable persons, tho' it be proper to the design of this Paper, authentically to prove how much all the Nobility of *Spain* was run down; and therefore it will suffice to say, all may cast their Eyes upon the irregular proceedings towards several Persons of the first Rank of the Kingdom, in which nothing has answer'd the ends of Justice and Government, and all was suited to undervalue and lessen that esteem which (tho' lessen'd by the times) supported the Blood, the Authority, and the Decency of the Houses of the prime Quality.

It



It is well known, it was resolv'd, that the Oath they caus'd the Duke of *Anjou* to take in the Church of S. *Jerome* in *Madrid*, should be administred by *D' Frey Manuel Arias*. This Person's Quality render'd him so unfit for that Function, that it made it manifest to all Men, that in the then Ministry, the meanest in rank, who was known to be best affected to *France*, possess'd the highest Dignity, and that all who were great by Birth, ought to be kept under, because their honour would not allow of that affection; and therefore it was requisite that some men of the first rank should declare the irregularity of this unpresidented Proceeding, that the resolution might be alter'd, and that Solemnity might be perform'd in the usual manner, a Person of convenient Dignity being appointed. But this attempt will shew how little regard the Government had for persons of consideration, and its want of prudence in advancing its adherents.

They write from *Italy*, that the Duke of *Anjou* had order'd the Title of Highness to be given to the Duke of *Vendosme*. It is likely, this was as inseparable from the Dignity of Dukes and Peers, as it is remote from that of *Grandes* of *Spain*. If reflection were to be made upon the greatness of this contempt, it would be tedious, but so full, as would convince all of but indifferent capacity. But it is pass'd by, as was that which regarded the abusing of the first Dignity of *Castile*, when oblig'd to receive that of Dukes and Peers of *France*; because this affair depending upon Precedents, upon the constitution of these two Dignities, and upon the Prerogatives the Kings of *France* and *Spain* have been pleas'd each in his Kingdom to support them with, it requires a digression, which would be improper for this Paper, and foreign from the Subject.

Nor is it proper to set down, how many were remov'd from their posts, only for having been faithful



Servants and Subjects to King *Charles* the Second, in whose time this could not be done, without their being guilty of such offences as the Ministers and Military Officers of every Prince commit against their Master's Enemy; and this which was a justification of their proceedings, and an honour to them that perform'd it, even with the future Ministry was punish'd as a crime of disloyalty, when it ought to be rewarded and look'd upon as a meritorious piece of fidelity. And on the other side, those who through malice, misfortune, or ignorance, had not so good a Reputation to the loss of their own, and who had been the cause of some fortunate success to *France*, were rewarded, and particularly distinguish'd. And perhaps it was never known, that he who possesses a Crown should punish those who endeavour'd to serve it well, and favour those that serv'd it ill.

How this Ministry treated the people of *Spain*, to whom they offer'd such imaginary and chimerical Advantages, will appear by those they have receiv'd; but more especially by their hindering them of their poor maintenance, which they gain'd by their labour, never prohibiting *French* from coming to follow most Trades, or their importing *French* Manufactures, both which have reduc'd those *Spanish* Companies as work'd at those Trades, almost to want Bread.

Who is there that doubts but that Trade is the Soul of the Monarchical Body? Now then let it be observ'd to what a condition this Government has reduc'd those few vital Spirits, that remain'd in these almost departing Kingdoms. It is needless, after what has been said which includes so much, to proceed any farther, unless to the Trade of the *Indies*. The contract for Blacks, which is not only the greatest for its value, but the only one by reason of the frauds it opens a way to, is transferr'd to *French* undertakers. It is well known that all the Commodities that



that support *America*, have been sent from *France*. It is also known how the produce of the Commodities sent over in the time of *Charles* the Second, which came in the last Fleet, was apply'd, after the Navies of the two Maritime Powers had taken or burnt the rest. And even from these antecedents, the Government of *Spain* has endeavour'd to deduce the consequence of being thankful for having *French* Maritime Forces sent to defend the *Indies*; as if *Spain*, after having lost all, were a great gainer in *France*'s having the greatest share; not regarding that there was a possibility of recovering all from any other Regency, and none ever from *France*. Experience will evidently prove this, as God now blesses the just Cause of the most August House of *Austria*. Is not the Treasury of the Crown, the solid Basis to support the Sovereignty of every Prince? Yet that was put into the hands of a *French* Intendant, either through the contempt of not looking upon any *Spaniard* as capable of that Trust; or because such confidence could not be repos'd upon any Subject of the Crown of *Spain*. *French* Engineers have had the Charge of defending our Towns, the *Spaniards* bearing the expence, and Strangers managing it. And even that little profit the Country People, or Souldiers might receive by working at the Fortifications, where there were *French* Troops, as at *Cadix*, was given to them, excluding the Natives. The Form and Precedencies, which the Kings of *Spain* had endeavour'd to settle among all Nations, their Subjects in their Armies was confounded, and vanish'd in a day, to the end that the *French* Rule and Method might be observ'd in them all; and if in our Armies there was any want of Discipline, which requir'd to be rectify'd; or if according to the time it were convenient to alter some old Customs for new, because of the known difference betwixt the manner of waging War formerly and at present;



present; yet there was no need of destroying so great a Memorial, and so great an Ornament of the *Spanish* Nation, to correct and put into a good form that which stood in need of it. But it looks as if the only aim had been, that nothing should remain which might put us in mind that we had been *Spaniards*.

It is well known that what was to be agreed in Council was concluded in *France*; and no less that Employments were given there; as are therefore the continual and publick applications made at that Court by those, who su'd for any thing in this. There has been no place to doubt by what Superiour Power the Resolutions of the Monarchy and State were influenc'd. Now who can say there is any Sovereign whose Revenue is manag'd and appropriated by another; whose political Decrees are not his own; whose Alliances are taken from him, and he engag'd in others, and all by another's direction; Whose Towns and Troops obey the Orders of another Prince; whose Trade is not in the hands of his Subjects; who has not the disposal of Posts and Honours; and who is even oblig'd to receive that as a favour, which lessens the prime Nobility of his Kingdom; for so the emolument of the other was sought, trampling on our Honours, to raise those of another Nation higher? As many more, and not inferiour Circumstances, of our slavery are not mention'd, for those omitted might serve to fill a larger Paper than this; but it is only noted that there has been some body so basely submitting to this subjection, who not being able to deny the unhappiness of enduring it, has endeavour'd to represent it as temporal, to make it tolerable by the supposition, that after two or three Generations in the succession of the Duke of *Anjou*, we should return to be as divided in Monarchies, as we were before. But how should we ever be divided, after remaining for two or three Generations,



nerations, not only settled as Subjects, but under that slavery the Kingdom must suffer as having been fraudulently reduc'd to it, and under an impossibility of recovering from that miserable state, and wretched fall into utmost poverty, and disuse of Arms? If he who deliver'd this Nation, thought our recovery possible, he has found but few Men of Judgment to second his opinion, since most in *Europe* by their actions shew they differ in sentiment.

Another no less immaterial, and design'd only to deceive the poor oppress'd people of *Spain*, has been the spreading abroad, that this is a War of Religion, to the end the innate piety of our Nation may not distinguish between the truth of these motives, and the shadow of this fear; since perhaps there never was in the World any War more properly defensive, or more political, or better grounded upon state Prudence, in regard of all the Princes of *Europe*, or more for the Liberty and Honour of the *Spaniards*, and the common Justice of all Men. And, not to speak of the ancient, the example being so modern, of *Spain* and the Emperor's being Ally'd with the Maritime Powers, and other Princes in the time of *Charles* the Second, no such jealousy was then conceiv'd, and yet now they would raise it, when the Alliance is the same, and the Motives for it so much greater. And perhaps the Ministers of *France* have not thought fit to spread abroad this rumour, as the Government of *Spain* has thought it advantageous, because their Regency has joyn'd with the same Powers for the Treaty of Partition. And if this Alliance was just in order to tear our Monarchy piecemeal, it cannot be unjust in order to preserve it intire, and maintain its liberty. And the Government of *Spain* having, for the most part, made use of things of no solidity, to reduce the  
mistaken



mistaken Monarchy to bear with that slavery it would not suffer if undeceiv'd ; it further commits the lightness of Printing such fabulous Gazetts every week, that they produce no other effect in *Europe*, but the design of rendering our Nation contemptible, if others should believe, that such trifles and misrepresentation of Facts could find credit among rational *Spaniards*. That they should not appear such, has been attempted by these two Ministers, *Portocarrero*, and *Arias* ; what human malice concentrated in these two individuals was capable of such a design ! but so much as they have done seems not to have been in the reach, either of all human malice, or of more than the human Power of only two Men, follow'd by so few, and those of so little value for their conduct.

Having deliver'd these manifest Reasons, and not to be controverted, without altering the truth, which are those the Admiral had for following the Tyes of Honour he mentions at the beginning of this Paper ; it will be convenient to turn to give a brief account of the steps he has made towards this end, from the day he left *Madrid*. Which are, that he took the way to the Town of *Tordesillas*, which is a small days journey out of the great Road, having given out, that the occasion of it was to take leave there of his Brother the Marquess *d'Alcanizas*, who is at *Medina de Rio Seco*. In this Town, being the nearest to the Road to *Portugal*, which he design'd to take, it was that he communicated his design to the Earl of *Corzana*, as well on account of the obligation of Friendship and Kindred, as because it was not convenient that the Earl should accompany the Admiral in so great a Design, without having fair, timely, and friendly notice of it. And finding himself amidst the mighty difficulties that attended the Execution



cution of the material part of this fact, and that one great one was the notice which would be taken in the very Town of *Tordesillas*, and in all the others about it, among which *Valladolid* is one, and by the Admiral's own Family, and others who follow'd him and were not of it, and by all the people that conducted the Baggage, when they saw this unexpected change of going over to *Portugal*; and considering how prejudicial this must prove to his design, the Admiral contriv'd a Paper, which seem'd to intimate that the Dutchess of *Anjou*, who govern'd *Spain*, sent him upon an Embassy extraordinary to his *Portuguese* Majesty, on account of the publick Negotiations then manag'd in *Portugal*, it being the time when the Fleet of the two Maritime Powers was in the Bay and on the Coasts of *Cadix*. Under this colour he travell'd three days into the Kingdom of *Castile*, and had the opportunity of getting into *Portugal* in good order, as he did; and as soon as he enter'd it, he sent a trusty Person with a Letter to Count *Waldstein* the Emperor's Embassador Extraordinary, assuring him he might give entire credit to the bearer, and referring himself to him, who had his instructions, the substance whereof was, that his Excellency would acquaint the Emperor with his being in this Kingdom, whither his great and never to be forgotten Obligations to the House of *Austria* had brought him; that thus he might immediately lay him at his Imperial Majesty's Feet, and beseech him he would vouchsafe to direct the Admiral's Actions, by his August Commands; and that, till those came, the Embassador should direct and guide them according to his will, as he thought most convenient for the Service of his most August Masters. Count *Waldstein* return'd an answer with all those expressions of thanks, as were most suitable to the Empe-



Emperor's most clement Sentiments, and to the good intentions of the Embassador's high Birth and Ministry; adding that he expected him in his House, where he thought it proper the Admiral should alight; and then he apply'd himself to give those necessary publick Orders, which are requisite for the entertaining of such a number of persons.

Thus the Admiral continu'd his journey, which was delay'd by reason of the badness of the ways for Coaches and the Carts that carry'd the Baggage; till his *Portuguese* Majesty having several times refus'd Count *Waldstein* the Audience he demanded to deliver the Letter the Admiral writ to his Majesty, he was given to understand, that his Majesty being desirous to favour the Admiral with his Royal Countenance, would not be able to do it freely, if he came openly to lodge in his Excellencies House; because the Affairs of *Portugal* were not in a posture to allow of that publick proceeding. And the Imperial Embassador prudently discerning, that it was hazarding all, if he persisted in his first design, and that it would be rather more conducing to the same end, that the Admiral should continue without exposing in publick the designs of Honour, which had brought him, since he was not hindred from giving what influence he could without that Declaration; he writ to the Admiral on the 10th of *October*, sending his Secretary with the Letter to meet him on the Road, and in it giving him notice of this change, and that it was not for the good of the publick Cause, that he should go to lodge at his House. The Letter was as follows.

Most



Most Excellent Lord,

**T**HE Bearer hereof, who had gone some Days sooner, but that several Considerations obstructed, goes now in my Name to receive the pleasing News of your Excellency's Health, and how your Journey agrees with you, till I have the Happiness to do it my self in Person, wishing your Excellency may have continu'd, and may end it with all Prosperity. By this same Opportunity, I acquaint your Excellency, that the Emergencies of this Court, have a very different aspect from that which occasion'd the Answer I sent some days since, to what was represented to me in your Excellency's Name, pursuant to which I must in the mean while inform you; that for the present, it seems not convenient that your Excellency do me the Honour to lodge in my House, as I had conceiv'd. It will be needless to declare to your Excellency, the trouble it is to me to be depriv'd of this Honour, whilst your Excellency is sensible of the Obligations I am under; but according to the present Circumstances, it seems to be more conducing to our Principal End, and to your Excellency's greatest Satisfaction, that this Publick Proceeding be avoided for the present, and that your Excellency take another House, which I will cause in the mean time to be made ready, that I may at least contribute, as much as in me, to serve your Excellency, not as I could wish, but in the best manner I am able; hoping, that as soon as Circumstances alter, I shall still have the Honour of Serving your Excellency in my own House; I refer the rest till I shall have the Honour of seeing your Excellency, which I hope will be speedily, two Leagues from hence, whether I will go by Night, and endeavour to Discourse your Excellency at Leisure. And, though I could wish to have advanc'd further to anticipate this Pleasure, I shall not do it, that it may not be taken Notice of, that I am missing in Lisbon at this time, since all Cautiousness than can be us'd in this Affair, seems most convenient. In the

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mean while, I remain full of Desire to testifie the perfect Sincerity I profess towards your Excellency, and am covetous to manifest it in Action, as I shall with great earnestness perform upon all Occasions of your Service and Pleasure. God keep the most Excellent Person of your Excellency those many years I wish.

Lisbon, Oct. 10. 1702.

Your Excellency's

Greatest Servant Kisses Your Hands,

Count Waldstein.

A few days before his Excellency's Secretary brought this Letter, the Admiral had receiv'd others from Persons of Worth and Reputation in *Portugal*, which inform'd him that he could not be receiv'd in *Lisbon*, nor treated by his Majesty with that Favour he desir'd to shew him, if he persisted in the Resolution taken by the Imperial Embassadour; and therefore, that he need not doubt that it was more convenient to all intents, and even for the very end the Admiral design'd, to take another House, and continue, as to outward appearance, without that Correspondence, since he could at the same time keep it up, so that no Subtilty should obstruct it. And tho the Admiral could make no doubt that these Letters were written by private order of the Ministry, yet he would not answer the Contents of them till he had sent the principallest of them to Count *Waldstein*, that he might give his opinion of what the Admiral was to answer and act. But having soon after receiv'd the Letter, whose Copy is above, the Admiral obey'd with Resignation, causing the *Quinta* (or Country-house) of the Count *de San Lorenzo* to be



be hir'd, till another House could be had. Having frequent and continual Intercourse from this place with the Imperial Embassador, he was oblig'd to manage it cautiously, as to outward appearance, that its being publick might not disgust his *Portuguese* Majesty, and that he might not exceed the Order prescrib'd him by the Embassador himself. And to follow on this Affair regularly, being oblig'd to send the Dispatches of the *French* Embassy, with the Advice of the said Count *Waldstein*, the Admiral writ to the Duchess of *Anjou*, who then govern'd *Spain*, concealing in his Letter the great Motives of his Coming, and only making use of the Pretext of private Complaints; whereas, from the first day, he was desirous to take Pen in hand, to make known to the World the same that this Paper sets down. Next, he gave an account of every Particular to his Imperial Majesty, laying himself and Life at his Feet, in a Letter of *Nov. 27.* which was as follows.

Sacred Imperial Royal Majesty.

S I R,

**T**HE indispensable Duties it has pleas'd God I should be born under, and those My Family has always ow'd to your Imperial Majesties Predecessors, and all those Powerful Motives, which Count *Waldstein* will give your Imperial Majesty an Account of, and which I here forbear to repeat, to avoid being tedious, having drawn me from my House and Estate, and from the Kingdom of Castile to this of Portugal. I now, with the most profound Respect, proceed to lay myself at your Imperial Majesties Royal feet, earnestly desirous always to live at them with equal Awe and Fidelity. Adding only, that my Residence at this Court is continu'd in such a manner, as by Count *Waldstein* has been thought most



*convenient for the Interest and Service of your Imperial Majesty, which I so much desire to promote, not without being guilty of great Vanity, for having lost all, rather than be wanting to so Principal, so Antient, and so Just a Duty. God preserve the Sacred Imperial Royal Person of your Imperial Majesty, as is requisite for Christendom.*

Lisbon, Nov. 27. 1702.

The Admiral of Castile.

This Paper cannot sufficiently express the excessive Honours the Admiral receiv'd in answer to this Letter, from the extraordinary Goodness of his Imperial Majesty ; for besides the Letter in the common Course he Writ another of his own Hand, the Kindness and Benignity of his most August Heart over-flowing so many ways. And though such Excess of Clemency cover'd the Admiral with Confusion, yet he will not omit giving a Copy of it here for his own Honour. The first Translated out of *Latin* into our Tongue, was thus.

Illustrious and Cordially Beloved,

**A**fter the many Proofs, which you and your Renowned Ancestors have given of Singular Devotion, and Fidelity towards me and my House, I could have had none greater than what your Letters, and those of Count Waldstein my Ambassador in Portugal do testifie to me; for I perceive, that you forsaking your Country and your plentiful Patrimony, have for some time chosen to live in a strange Country, rather than condescend to any thing, either unworthy you and your Illustrious Race, or contrary to that Worth, wherewith you and your Ancestors have singulariz'd your selves towards my House. How much the Merit of so extraordinary an Action increases



increases in me, the Esteem I had for you before, is easie for any Man to conceive. And though I am sensible, that all you are to suffer on Account of so singular an Exploit, can little affect your generous Soul, yet I cannot but be cordially concern'd for the trouble that attends you on this Occasion, and at the same time, excite my self more vigorously to assert the Liberty of your Oppressed Country. And because, thro' your high Prudence, and the noble Experience you have in all Points, you can inform me how all may be compass'd with Prosperous Brevity, and after what manner the King of Portugal may be brought to contribute to the same end, or at least to allow of it; I have therefore commanded Count Waldstein, not only to ask your Advice in this Particular, but that he follow it as far as possibly may be, and he will promote it without any delay. I will also bend all my thoughts, and the Interest I have with my Allies this way, having great Confidence in God, that as Supreme Moderator of all Things, he will assist so just a Cause, and Crown your Banishment with a happy Event. But happen what will, I will certainly take all possible care, that you may not repent you of so Heroical a beginning, and may experimentally know the Esteem I have for your Dignity, and for your so notable Merits towards me and my House. For this same Reason, my Dominions which I possess in Germany, if you think fit to retire to them, shall be always open to Receive you; and I promise, you shall be embrac'd by me with the greatest Good Will, confirming in the mean while, my Favour and Imperial Inclination, with liberal Prodigality for all your Occasions.

In my City, Dec. 22. 1702.

LEOPOLD.

The second Letter of his own hand, is this which follows.

Admiral



Admiral of Castile,

**T**H O I answer'd your Letter of Nov. 27. the common way, yet that does not satisfy my Affection and Esteem; and I have thought fit, by this particular Letter of my own hand, to assure you of my extraordinary Thankfulness for your so highly signalizing your self upon this occasion, so suitably to the Natural Affection wherewith you have always fulfill'd your great Duties to my House; in which there will remain a perpetual Remembrance of your glorious Resolution, hoping that many more will follow it, unless the vile Toke they have suffer'd to be laid on them, has quite cast them down, and made them forget the Noble Exploits their Forefathers undertook for the service of this House, which has always regarded them more like Sons than Subjects. Be it as it shall please God, the Action you have done will be ever applauded, and if it be not made an Example for others to follow, it will be the more singular, as is your great Wisdom and Ability. I charge Count Waldstein, my Embassadour, not to move a step without your Direction; for such as you give shall be ever approv'd of by me: and therefore I desire you to assist and direct him in whatsoever may occur. If the Letters could pass with safety and speed, (which cannot be, by reason of the Interruption of Commerce caus'd by the War) I would write to you very often, that I might make my self a Rule of your just Opinion upon the present Emergencies, and it is requisite to settle the Method for facilitating our Correspondence. You will do me a pleasure in making known my Thankfulness to the Count of Corzana, of whose Valour, Honour and other qualities I am sufficiently inform'd; and the same of Father Cienfuegos, whom I would also have acquainted with my Gratitude for his Attendance on you. God keep you as I desire.

Vienna, Dec. 26. 1702.

LEOPOLD.



The Imperial Embassador being upon his Departure for *Vienna*, it was thought convenient by the said Embassador and the Admiral, that the latter should take the Oath of Fidelity to King *Charles III.* to the Emperor, and his most August House, that even this Formality might not be wanting, which only tended to render the Loyalty, which the Admiral had express'd, legal, as also to anticipate this Comfort the sooner, which was accordingly done, the Admiral, the Earl of *Corzana* and others taking the said Oath on the 19<sup>th</sup> of *May*, administer'd to them by Count *Waldstein* the Imperial Embassador. Some time after ensu'd the Sentence of Death pronounced against the Admiral by the Government of *Spain*, and publish'd on the 17<sup>th</sup> of *August* of this present year, with Forfeiture of all his Estate and Goods, treating him as guilty of High-Treason: whereas the Admiral can testify that no day was ever more joyful and pleasing than that on which he received this Intelligence; since no more honourable Proclamation could be made or better known in the World, than was at this time by means of his Enemies. He proceeded to give an account to his Majesty *Charles III.* writing the following Letter.

S I R,

I Confess I approach to your Majesty's Royal Feet with a Heart so full of Joy, that my Sincerity has not Words to express the least part of my Satisfaction; for the Events seem so much to favour the earnest Desire of testifying my Duty, that I can now scarce desire any more to signalize my self a worthy Servant and Subject of your Majesty: For there is come to this Kingdom an Express from that of Castile, with the news of that Government's having pronounced a Sentence, which only their Blindness can conceive to be prejudicial to me; since the Purport of it is the greatest Ornament of my Person, and the greatest Honour and best Memorial of my House.



*House. And whereas my Ancestors, the Owners of this House, have all of them endeavoured to outvie one another in deserving each of them more the Sovereign Protection of your Majesty's August Forefathers, and all of them have left behind them such honourable Testimonies of these good Intentions and futable Services; I have been beholding to Providence for the sublimest Felicity I could aspire to in this World, since the Posture of Affairs has made it easie to me to surpass them all in the Success, tho I could do no more than equal them in the Intention. I beg, with all respect, that your Majesty will believe, that if this so entire Sacrifice of my Duty could be greater, I should not rest satisfy'd with what has been done, and that I should rejoice it were in my power to repeat the like every hour and every moment; and that all this would not equal the Fidelity and Affection I profess for your Majesty's House and Person. Whose Catholick Royal Person, God preserve as is requisite for Christendom.*

*Lisbon, Aug. 29. 1703.*

*The Admiral of Castile.*

*This is the Substance of the Steps the Admiral made in this Affair, and of the Motives which oblig'd him to take the said Resolution. And he has not before made them publick, because he did not think it for the Reputation of his Cause to allow much time between the publishing and defending of it; because such great Maxims of Honour ought not to be expos'd to view, till the Execution be so near that Actions can maintain what the Pen writes. Not doubting but that all these Reasons are lively in all such as value themselves upon being good Spaniards, and Men of Reputation, whensoever they shall be in a Condition to make it known.*

*F I N I S.*

